

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

12.]

London, Saturday, 10th April, 1802.

[Price 10D.

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THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,
Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs.

My Lord,

When, about six months ago, I took the
pleasure to address to your lordship a series of
letters on the Preliminary Articles of
Treaty with France, I was not without
the hope, that the fatal effects, which
were to be expected from the stipulations
then contained, would be done away, or,
at least, somewhat qualified, by the provi-
sions of the definitive treaty. These hopes
were, however, now completely, and for ever,
frustrated: the final seal is put to the
ruin of our country; her ruin and infamy
are irrevocably decreed, and the short term
of her political existence will resemble the
few and awful moments that intervene
between the condemnation of a criminal
and his exit from the ignominious tree.

As far as the definitive treaty is conform-
able to the letter and the spirit of the prelimi-
naries, I have nothing to add to what I
have heretofore advanced; and, certainly,
I have not a word to retract. Hitherto
events have confirmed, and even outstrip-
ped, my apprehensions; nor, is there any
reason to hope, that any part or portion,
however small, of all the evils, anticipated
in the letters to your lordship and your
worthy coadjutor, will not, in due
time and order, fall upon the head of our
country. It remains for me, my lord, now
to point out, in what instances, and to what
extent, the stipulations of the definitive
treaty are more injurious than those of the
preliminaries. This discussion naturally
divides itself thus: 1. Malta; 2. the Island
of Elba; 3. the Italian Republic; 4. Portu-
gal; 5. Louisiana; 6. the French
possessions in the West-Indies. With respect to
these points, the definitive treaty con-
firms, either positively or tacitly, a depar-
ture from the preliminary articles, extreme-
ly injurious and disgraceful to England.
Under the 7th head, it will be proper to
consider the omissions with regard to com-
merce; and, 8. the more dangerous omis-
sion of a renewal of former treaties.

Respecting *Malta*, the words of the
preliminary articles were:—"The Island

"of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be
"evacuated by the troops of his Britannic
"Majesty, and restored to the Order of
"St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose
"of rendering this Island completely inde-
"pendent of either of the two contracting
"parties, it shall be placed under the pro-
"tection and guarantee of a third power,
"to be agreed upon in the definitive
"treaty."—In a definitive treaty, formed
upon this basis, there was nothing to be
done but to re-assemble the Knights of the
Order, give up to them the rights and re-
venues they formerly enjoyed, and to place
the independence of the state under the
protection of a third power, whose situa-
tion, resources, disposition, and character,
would have given solidity to that indepen-
dence; a power, in short, who would, if
necessary, have been able to protect the
Island of Malta, by force of arms, against
an attack, made by either of the contract-
ing parties. Where such a power was to
be found upon the face of this terrestrial
globe, is a question which the nation ought
not to permit your lordship to ask. Your
preliminaries obviously and necessarily sup-
pose the existence of such a power; and, if
no such power did exist, the fact proves
your lordship to possess no small share of
duplicity, or a most abundant lack of di-
plomatic information. But, to whatever
quality we are to ascribe the clause of the
preliminaries, here referred to, it is certain,
that the public expected from it an efficient
and durable guarantee of the independence
of Malta; how the definitive treaty has
fulfilled this expectation, I will now, with
your lordship's leave, endeavour to explain.

In restoring the Island of Malta to the
Order of St. John of Jerusalem, your lord-
ship has, as a preliminary step, agreed with
France to destroy the Order itself. Having
made this hopeful beginning, you next con-
fide the temporary protection of this aristo-
demo-jacobinical state to the King of Na-
ples; that is to say, to a prince, who is the
mere vassal of Buonaparté, and who is under
the absolute necessity of surrendering it up
at the first summons of his master. The
guarantees (for, like legion, they are many)
are six powers, the first of whom is the only
power on earth, by whom the independence

[35]
Joint France
of Legation
to appoint
y's Consul
to approve of
ussian Majes
EATHS.
Lady of John
his house in
st, at Escot
Kennaway,
in's Church,
widow of the
and daughter
e Earl of Sel
Hon. Henry
ols.
70 1/2
70 1/2
1 1/2
113 1/2
57 1/2
DON.
84 to 100
40 to 90
58 to 70
68 to 78
68 to 78
45 to 55
375 to 540
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M. A.
49 1/2 60
49 30
50 00
51 30
43 44
44 46
41 49
Last Qu.
ay be had

of the Island is threatened, and against whose attacks we wish to see it defended. Four of the others have no naval force, or are situated at an immense distance from the object guaranteed, and the sixth is in a state of abject submission to our enemy, who has not only an absolute controul over her councils, but who is in actual possession of her arsenals, her fleets, and her armies.

The independence of a state is founded, first, on the armed force, which defends it from attacks, or, secondly, on the engagements, and consequent interposition, of other states, by which attacks are prevented. Now, my lord, can any man, with the smallest pretensions to sincerity, can your lordship, for instance, assert, that the independence of Malta is safe in the hands of a Neapolitan garrison, while the French Consul is also president of the Italian Republic; while a French army is constantly in the heart of Italy, and while Piedmont is united to France? At whatever hour Buonaparté, or his successor, wishes to snatch Malta from his Sicilian Majesty, he has only to send a messenger to whisper in his ear this terrible alternative: *Malta or Naples!* There is no doubt as to the answer. It is for this reason, that the Consul, who is well aware of the impossibility of really establishing a Maltese Republic, upon principles so discordant and means of support so inadequate as those he has proposed, and who has it in his power to retard the organization of the new government till he is ready for the seizure, has so carefully provided a Neapolitan garrison to take the temporary guardianship of this formidable island.

Since, my lord, it was so clearly foreseen that the final arrangement, by which the independence of Malta was to be secured, could be made in the course of only one year, why was not the island, for this year, left to the guardianship of England herself? Of poor old England, who had given proofs of her weakness, or, as your lordship would call it, of her *moderation*, quite enough to banish suspicion from the mind even of those, with whom it has long been a crime "*d'être soupçonner d'être suspect*?" By an arrangement of this sort we might have watched over the proceedings in the island; we might have observed the effects of that novel political edifice, ascertained the real state of the new military defence, the extent of the trade and revenue, and might have lent a timely hand to whatever stood in need of our assistance. Instead of this, my lord, it is our mortal enemy whose influence will

direct every thing; it is that enemy who will hasten, or retard, at his pleasure, the completion of the scheme, which the Consul has conceived, and on which you have the credulity to rely, for securing the independence of Malta; and, in his management of this important matter, be you well assured, my lord, that he will neglect nothing that may contribute towards the frustrating of those hopes, which the silly admirers of the peace have conceived from this transaction. In short, when the British fleet leaves Malta, it will leave it for good and all; never will our flag, though stripped of its lilies, again be seen flying in the harbour of Valetta; and this island, the most valuable of all our conquests, the most congenial to the nature of our warlike force, the best calculated to preserve our due weight and influence in the Mediterranean, to watch the movements of our enemy, to enable us to protect our principal allies, Austria and Turkey, and to seize some future opportunity for driving the French from their Italian conquests; this island, my lord, which thus gave us strength and security for the present and hope for the future, we have, by your instrumentality, now irretrievably lost; for, the singular combination of circumstances, which put Malta into our hands, will never again exist. Three months from this day we shall retain of that famous victory, which has filled the world with admiration, nothing but the heart-rending proof of its total inutility.

In supposing, that the contemplated final arrangement, as to the internal affairs of Malta, should take place, I would first ask, who gave your lordship and your colleagues the right to form a constitution (for your provisions are nothing short of that,) who qualified you and who gave you power, to make "statutes," fundamental and irrevocable statutes, for the organization and government of a state, which you, at the very same time, declare to be *independent*, and which has, indeed, long been regarded and recognized as such by all the states and sovereigns of Europe? To do your lordship justice, I own that I think you did so with reluctance. The scheme was Buonaparté's; the deed was his; fear led you to give your countenance to the measure; can I for my life contemplate you in the act of signing these "statutes" without thinking of the poor cat, whose paw the baboon employed to rake the coals from the fire. But, whatever might be the cause of this conduct on your lordship's part, the effect is by no means

ful. By lending the name of England to this flagrant violation of the first principle of public law; by making her give so unequivocal a sanction to the insolent, the unbearable assumption of a right to alter the governments of independent states, you have fully and formally confirmed that doctrine, which the republicans of France invented for the purpose of invading the liberties of mankind, and for the still more nefarious purpose of destroying the principles of morality and religion. In defending the late king, your lordship has a hundred times referred to the decree of the 19th November, 1792; but that decree insolent as it was, was not so insolent as that part of the definitive treaty, which relates to the formation of "statutes" for Malta. That decree kindly informed the people of every island, that, if they wished to change their form of government, France was ready to assist them. But, with respect to Malta, no questions are asked; a new government is imposed, without the least reference to the wishes of either the governing or the governed. And thus has Great-Britain ended a war, which she began for the purpose of resisting this audacious and disorganizing doctrine, not only by acceding to that doctrine, but by acting on it to an extent far beyond that, in which it was attempted to be enforced against herself! As I observed before, I am far from attributing this part of the stipulations to the will of your lordship. I am, on the contrary, fully persuaded, that you consented to them with grief, and that nothing but an irresistible desire to continue to serve your Royal Master and your country, could have induced you to abandon principles, of which you had been so strenuous an advocate, and to humble your noble name in the dust at the feet of a man, whom, the newspapers tell us, you had, but a few months before, contemptuously denominated a "*Corsican adventurer*." If, however, this constitution-making stipulation be found to afford us any ground of security; if we have drawn but the most feeble ray of hope from the pigeon-holes of the Abbé Sieyès, I am, my lord, well assured, that the means by which we have obtained it, will not, in the eyes of ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, work the least diminution in its value. But, as it has happened in every other instance, the stipulation has been imposed by our enemy, our conqueror, and solely for his own convenience and advantage. It first admits

persons not of noble birth into the Order, and then it gives to these persons *one-half* of the places of emolument and power. The other half will, in a very short time, fall into the same hands. In fact, this is neither more nor less than another of those revolutions, which France has been effecting in all the little states, which have fallen under her grasp. The democratic part of the Order will never be at rest till it has annihilated the aristocratic part; and, in the struggles that will previously take place, France will act as she has acted at Genoa, and at Berne. She will take care to supply the Maltese with good engineers, and the Maltese will show their gratitude by giving her their barren island, in exchange for which they may, probably, receive some of those fruitful lands of France, which, in any other times than these, would still be called the property of the French knights, who, by this treaty, are excluded from the Order. France will not only be disposed to interfere in the internal disputes of the Order, but, as one of the guaranteeing powers, she will have a right so to do. In fact, it will be her duty, and a duty which she will most punctually and most cheerfully discharge. She is the first, nay she is the only *real* guaranteeing power; the other names were inserted in the clause merely to disguise our shame, a device, however, which will impose upon nobody but the people of this country: the rest of the world see through all our miserable attempts to support the appearance of dignity and spirit, and they now view us with that malignant delight, which is always enjoyed by the mean and the base, when they contemplate the fall of their superiors.

2. The definitive treaty tacitly acknowledges, that the sovereignty of the *Island of Elba* belongs to France. This is another departure from the preliminary articles. By the treaty of Luneville this island was ceded by the Emperor to the infant Duke of Parma, now, by the grace of Buonaparté, King of Etruria. By a subsequent treaty with Spain, France transferred the island from the Duke of Parma to herself. * This last-mentioned treaty she keeps a secret till she has, by a preliminary treaty with us, stipulated for our evacuation of the island. When your lordship made this stipulation, you certainly thought you were

* For the several instruments here referred to, Vide Register, p. 216.

surrendering the Island of Elba into the hands of the King of Etruria; but, by the treaty between France and Spain, published since the preliminaries were formed, we find, that you were, in fact surrendering it to France. It was your duty, then, when you came to negotiate the definitive treaty, to provide for an adherence to the preliminaries, in this respect; instead of which you have passed the matter over in total silence, and have added another important maritime post to the already monstrous dominion of France. Before our country had the benefit of your lordship's diplomatick talents, she was in possession of a chain of naval stations, which might for ever have insured to her the command of the Mediterranean. Gibraltar, Mahon, Porto Ferrajo, and Malta, were all ours; the first, thanks to the moderation of Buonaparté, still remains to us; but all the rest are gone to encrease the power of our enemy. France, with these stations in her hands, has Turkey at her feet, she holds Italy by a double chain, and she has it in her power to seize on Egypt by force, if, indeed, force should be necessary while Turkey is in a situation to refuse her nothing. We are as effectually banished from the Mediterranean (and with circumstances as disgraceful) as a Botany-Bay convict is banished from England: Our sentence is *for life* too: there is no return for us: when our fleet takes its departure, it may borrow the motto from the gate of Dante's infernal regions: "Hope, weary of our company, abandons us to the wailings of despair." France, on the contrary, will become the sole, the undisputed mistress of this sea, its islands, and its shores. Like the overgrown Laviathan, described by a late writer (whose wise councils, if listened to, would have saved us from our present disgrace and future ruin) she will roll and plunge and sport from one end of that immense space to the other. There will be no bounds to her ambition, no check to her encroachments; and, though the route to India is long and difficult, she will find her way thither, or she will spill the last drop of her blood in the attempt.

3. To the new modelling of the *Italian Republic*, too, the definitive treaty tacitly gives the approbation of this country. The great danger to be apprehended from the daring act of encroachment here referred to, has already been clearly pointed out. * In-

deed, the nation, insensible to every thing else, seems to have been seriously alarmed on this subject. Yet, not a word is said in the definitive treaty, to quiet their apprehensions; and the only answer they receive to their remonstrances, is, that, it is a continental concern; and, that, since the powers of the continent have not thought proper to interfere, Great-Britain may surely be excused, if she has followed their example. But, my lord, who knows what share the Cabinet of Great-Britain may have had in producing this apathy in the continental powers? Were we to form any judgment from the sudden change which took place in the language of Russia, immediately after the arrival of Lord St. Helens in that country, we should think it very fair to presume, that the answers of Russia and Austria respecting the Italian Republic, were strongly recommended by the statesmen of Downing Street. In fact, it is evident, that those powers were well assured, that Great-Britain was resolved not to second any remonstrance, that they might make on the subject; and, therefore, to urge the silence of the continental powers as a justification of our own, is another of those pitiful subterfuges, by which we are in vain endeavouring to eke out the miserable remnant of our reputation. As an auxiliary in this enterprize, the advocates for the peace have called forth all the old exploded cant against continental connections, a cant that never was listened to but in times of disgrace. How shockingly inconsistent, how bold in baseness, must those persons be, who, after having approved of subsidy on subsidy to the Emperor, to Prussia, to Sardinia, and to the Swiss Cantons, can now stand up and protest against continental connections! Can now pretend, that the safety and prosperity of England have no dependance on the affairs of the rest of Europe, and are to be found in herself alone! Nay, these persons, after having, for years, boasted of our colonial conquests, have now discovered that colonies, too, may be dispensed with. They seem to regard this country as endowed with the joint qualities of the spider and the bear; like the former to draw the means of her defence from her own entrails, and like the latter to suck her nourishment from her paws.

But, my lord, from you, above all men living, I never should have expected to hear sentiments like these; you, who came into political life with a contrary doctrine in your lips, and whose first squall, if I may so express myself, was a defence, and a mastery

* See Register, p. 111 and 124.

defence, of continental connections. Well, I remember your speech on that occasion; that speech which the nation heard with such delight, which shone with such lustre to extinguish the rays of a juvenile contemporary, and which finally drove the unhappy man to vent his melancholy in numbers. In that speech, my lord, you insisted, that Great-Britain could not long maintain her independance without continental connections; that such connections were the only security for herself or for the other powers of Europe against the ambition and the power of France; and that, to give up the balance of power, was to lay the foundation of the ruin and subjugation of this country. Subscribing, as I do, to this doctrine, in its fullest extent, I am extremely anxious to see how your lordship will defend a treaty, which has completely excluded us from any, even the most trifling interference in the concerns of the continent; which has tacitly declared us unauthorized to speak or to think on those concerns, and which has left a great part of the nations of that continent under the absolute control of our enveterate enemy, with no other power of action than that which is directed against ourselves.

In a future letter, my lord, I shall take the liberty to address to you some remarks on the points that remain to be examined, and, in the mean time,

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient Servant,

Wm. Cobbett.

Wall Mall, April 6, 1802.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Separate Convention between France and the Batavian Republic, explanatory of the 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty between France, Spain, and Holland, on the one part, and Great-Britain on the other part.

"The undersigned Plenipotentiary of the French Republic declares, conformably to the stipulations between the French and Batavian Republics, and in virtue of the special instructions with which he is furnished to that effect on the part of his government, that it is understood that the solemnity stipulated in favour of the House of Nassau in the 18th article of the pre- Treaty, shall not upon any account, in any manner, be at the charge of the

Batavian Republic; the French Government being guarantee to this effect towards the said Republic.

"The undersigned Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic, in the name of his government, accepts the above declaration, as explanatory of the aforesaid 18th article of the Definitive Treaty, signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the four contracting powers.

"The present act shall be presented at the ratification of the two respective governments, and the ratifications exchanged in due form.

"Done at Amiens, March 27.

(Signed) "J. Buonaparté.

"R. J. Schimmelpenninck."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday (April 1,) after the various bills before the House had been forwarded in their respective stages, *Lord Holland* rose to call the attention of their Lordships to the various petitions on the table, from persons confined for debt in the different parts of the kingdom. Declaring his own incompetency to suggest any mode for the relief of the petitioners, he owned that he felt less anxiety on the subject, as a noble friend, then in his place, had given notice of his intention to produce a bill for the amelioration of some part of the debtor laws. He would, therefore, confine himself to asking when the Noble Lord purposed to bring forward his bill. He was answered by the *Earl of Moira*, who, thanking his noble friend for having asked the question regularly in the House, adverted to the number of petitions then on the table. Many of these he had, he said, himself presented, conceiving it to be the duty of every Peer to present such petitions as were entrusted to him, even though he were adverse to the prayer of them. With respect to the bill he meant to propose, it was not on the ground of mere loose humanity that it went, but of solid justice to both parties. From the indisposition of two Noble Lords in the highest legal capacities, on whom he had relied for considerable information and assistance, it would not be feared he in his power to bring the bill forward before the Easter recess.

Some conversation took place on Tuesday, in consequence of the motion of *Lord Holland*, for an account of the gross amount of

the 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. revenues, from the 1st of January, 1785, to the 1st of January, 1801. The motion was agreed to. On the same day, *Lord Hobart* moved the thanks of the House to the army and navy, and the militia, which were unanimously voted.

On Thursday, April 8, *Lord Grenville* stated, that it would be matter of convenience to many noble Lords, as the House was now about to adjourn for the Easter recess, to be informed when it was probable the Definitive Treaty would be laid before the House, and what interval would probably elapse between that communication and the day to be appointed for taking it into consideration.—*Lord Pelham* having answered, that the ratifications would probably not be exchanged soon enough to allow of laying the Treaty before the House sooner than the Monday after the Easter week; but not having given any distinct answer as to the time when any motion would be to be made upon it:—*Lord Grenville* said, that the reason of his putting this question was in order that he might have the opportunity of bringing under the notice of the noble Lords in general, and of the House, a circumstance which appeared to him to call for a much longer interval in the consideration of the present Treaty, than had usually been given to similar transactions. In almost all the treaties of Peace with which he was acquainted, the practice had been to renew all the former treaties which had been abrogated by the War. The only points therefore which were in such cases to be examined, were those which were expressly contained in the articles of the new Treaty, every thing not there distinctly spoken of being by the renewal of the former treaties, replaced in the state in which it stood before the War. But in the present case, the Treaty of Amiens (if the copies he had seen of it were accurate,) contained no such renewal: and it would therefore be matter of very extensive enquiry to examine what British interests were affected, and how far they were affected, by our having suffered all the former treaties between this country and France, Spain, and Holland, to be utterly abrogated and annulled. He believed that no man at all acquainted with those subjects would undertake without much examination to pronounce what might or might not be the effects of so novel a circumstance. That those effects must be extensive and important no man could doubt, either from a general view of the subject, or from a

consideration of one or two points on which he would slightly touch. It was beyond all doubt, that, by not renewing any former treaties with Spain, we had now completely abandoned and surrendered the right, which we had exercised for the last two centuries, of cutting logwood and mahogany in the bay of Honduras. He would not dwell on the importance of this cession to the interests of our manufactures, to the various branches that depended on the reputation of dying woods or of mahogany. This was not the time to argue whether this cession is right or wrong, but the fact is unquestionable that this sacrifice has been made by the Definitive Treaty; another sacrifice still more important had been made by our having neglected to renew, either expressly, or even by implication, the convention concluded with France in 1787 respecting the East-Indies. By that sacrifice we had unreciprocally renounced all those restrictions by which France had, during the last Peace, consented to limit her intercourse and commerce with our East-India settlements, and *Lord Grenville* had no hesitation in saying, that by this renunciation, the security and existence of all our East-Indian Governments was shaken to the center. These and other points of this nature would require much serious examination. He had no doubt that, when the Treaty was laid before the House, the King would be advised to direct that it should be accompanied by such documents as would be necessary to the House in reference of these points, and also of those which related to the various changes which had taken place in the state of foreign affairs, and in the relative situation of this country and France, between the signature of the Preliminaries and the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty. Whether those documents would be sufficient for the purpose he could not now anticipate, but he trusted that, as there would certainly be no public interest so there would be no wish in Government to hurry the House to a decision on the subject, before their Lordships had the opportunity of examining the documents laid before them, and of suggesting any other points of information which might appear to them to be essential for forming an accurate judgment on the subject. There was one paper which he would mention to the House, and which if there was an objection to it, he would now move, because the preparing it might require some time, but if objected to he would not press it then because he was anxious not to do any thing that could



are with the regular course which was proposed from the business, this paper would be an account of dying woods and mahogany imported from the bay of Honduras into this kingdom, or any of its colonies, between 1787 and the year 1801.—Lord Pelham objecting to this motion, it was not pressed by Lord Grenville. Lord Pelham, in the course of his reply, stated, that, when the Treaty came regularly before their Lordships, any papers relative thereto might be moved for and obtained; and his Lordship expressly stated, that the discussion of the Treaty would not be hurried through the House.

In the House of Commons, no business of importance was discussed on Thursday. The Treating Bill was read a second time, some accounts were brought up, and notices were given by the *Solicitor-General* and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* of motions for leave to bring in certain bills.

On Friday, Mr. Robson moved that there should be laid before the House, an account of all sums of money paid by Government to the Bank of England for interest on loans since the Bank ceased to make payments in gold, in February, 1797. This motion was supported by Mr. Jones, Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Courtenay, and opposed by Mr. Manning, Mr. Grey, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Mansfield, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. The previous question was moved by the latter, and carried.

Mr. Canning then rose, for the purpose of making his promised motion on the subject of the Island of Trinidad. This motion, he stated, was only preliminary to another, which he had also given notice respecting the cultivation of that island, and he would not disguise, that his attention was directed to the question relative to the slave trade, though he did not then mean to discuss that question. He had never heard any one maintain, that if the slave trade did not now exist, it ought to be commenced. The House had voted for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, but it must be allowed that if the whole island of Trinidad were to be brought into a state of cultivation, it could not contribute to its abolition. The right hon. gentleman entered into a calculation of the number of acres contained in the island of Trinidad, and the number of negroes which would be required to work them. By carrying his motion to Trinidad, he should, he urged, get rid of an objection most frequently made by those who opposed the abolition of the slave trade; that the abo-

lition was injurious to the vested interest of the West-India proprietors. He concluded by moving, "That an humble address should be presented to His Majesty, praying that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions that there should be laid before the House, copies or abstracts of all letters and information received from the governor or commander in chief of the island of Trinidad, since the period of its capture, relative to the state of the cultivation of the island, and an account of the different classes of inhabitants, and likewise of any allotments of lands made since the capture; also copies of all orders sent to the governor of the said island relative to the settlement of the same, and also an account of the lands resumed, with the reasons of such resumption."

After a few words from the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, assenting to the motion, but expressing his fears that it would not be possible to procure all the information desired by the right hon. gentleman, the motion was on the point of being put, when General Gascoyne rose, to notice some observations of the right hon. mover. The right hon. gentleman had, he said, affirmed, that were the slave trade not in existence, there was no person who would venture to recommend its establishment. This he denied. Knowing, as he did, the advantages produced to this country by the slave trade, and feeling his duty as a member of parliament, he would say, that, if the slave trade had never existed, it ought immediately to be commenced. Were this country even to restrict the cultivation of land in the West-Indies, it would not answer the purpose hoped from it by the right hon. gentleman. This gave rise to some little debate between the hon. member, Mr. Wilberforce and Sir Wm. Young. The motion was then put and carried.

The House then, on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, resolved itself into a committee of supply, in which various sums were voted, under the head of miscellaneous services. The various orders of the day were then gone through, and the House adjourned.

On Monday (April 5), the budget was opened by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. After promising that he should not take up the time of the Committee by any preliminary reflections, the right hon. gentleman proceeded to remind it of the supplies already voted. They were as follows.

NAVY.

Exclusive of ordnance for sea service..... £. s. d.
7,770,896 0 0

ARMY.

Great-Britain 6,188,204 0 9 }
Ireland 1,520,130 10 5 } 7,708,334 10 5

ORDNANCE.

Great-Britain 929,166 0 0 }
Ireland 125,000 0 0 } 954,166 0 0

MISCELLANEOUS.

Great-Britain 260,482 0 0 }
Ireland 163,207 15 9½ } 423,689 15 9½
Reduction of the national debt .. 200,000 0 0
Corn bounties 1,622,018 0 0
Deficiencies of malt duty, 1800 400,000 0 0
Interest on exchequer bills, discount on loan, &c. as per disposition paper 1,137,073 0 0
To pay off exchequer bills in possession of the bank, 3,000,000 0 0
Deficiency of 1,200,000l. voted for the service of 1801, out of the duties on goods imported and exported 410,000 0 0
Amount of civil list debt..... 990,053 0 0

Making the sum already voted in the committee of supply 24,614,430 6 2½

Whereof the amount of sums voted for Great-Britain 22,806,092 0 0
For Ireland .. 1,808,338 0 0
24,614,430 0 0

It would appear from this that the period for which these sums were voted for the navy, army, ordnance and miscellaneous services, was only five months. For the remaining seven months it was not his intention now to propose any resolutions. In these departments, every retrenchment that was practicable would be made with as much rapidity as was consistent with prudence. The ways and means as they now stood were as follows.

Duties on pensions, offices, &c. and malt duties..... £2,750,000
Surplus subscription on exchequer bills funded 190,874
Loan to be provided for by { Gt. Brit. 23,000,000 }
{ Ireland 2,000,000 } 25,000,000

Amount of ways and means voted on or before the 5th of April ... £27,930,874

M.M.—Remains to be voted.
Surplus consolidated fund to 5th Jan. 1803.
Exchequer bills on supplies 1803.
L. 1147.
Loan to be contracted in Ireland.

Stock created by Loan 1802.

	Capital Stock.	Interest.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
3 per cent. consol. ann.....	14,950,000 0	
3 per cent. reduced ann.....	13,800,000 0	
3 per cent. deferred stock to be added to consols...	1,601,375 0	
	30,351,375 0	
Interest on the consols and reduced		862,500 0 0
Ditto on the deferred stock from Jan. 5, 1808.....		48,041 5 0
Management on the whole.....		13,658 2 0
Stock created by exch. bills fund.	11,138,062 10	
Interest, together with	£7,796 12 10½	
lite ann.		431,043 0 4½
£1 per cent. thereon.		112,222 12 6
Management		5,099 16 6½
Stock charged on income duties..	56,445,000 0	
Interest thereon ..		1,713,016 13 4
Management on ditto		25,621 10 0
	07,934,437 10	3,211,202 0 0

The above charge to be defrayed by the following taxes:

Malt and beer £2,000,000
Assessed taxes 1,000,000
Duty on exports and imports.. 1,000,000
£4,000,000

M.M.—The interest on the deferred stock, amounting to £48,041 5s. is to be defrayed out of the short annuities, which will expire on the 5th of Jan. 1804.

The right hon. gentleman then entered into the particulars of the terms of the loan, which he contended were highly flattering and advantageous. The terms were 6s. three per cent. consols, 6s. reduced. Deferred stock, £6. 19s. 3d. making together £131. 19s. 3d. for every £100. of money. The three per cent. consols were taken at 75½, being 1½ per cent. more than the market price at the close of Saturday. The reduced, generally estimated at 1 per cent. under the consols, were taken at 1½ above the market price on Saturday also. On such a bargain as this it was unnecessary to make any comment. One thing, however, he would say; that it was to the wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance of Parliament, supported by the vigour and energy of a powerful people, true to themselves in the hour of trial, that this and all other advantages we had gained were to be ascribed.

With respect to the income tax, the right hon. gentleman entered into a long explanation of his conduct. That tax, in his opinion, ought not to be left on the shoulders of the people during a time of peace, because it was a tax which ought to be kept in reserve, till a period arrived when we might have to struggle for our honour and independence, against a hostile force. A period which, though he hoped and trusted it was far distant, ought to be looked forward to, and provided against. It was to this tax, which he now proposed to repeal, that the country was indebted for the comfort it now had.

It was now, he continued, his painful duty to state to the committee the taxes by which he proposed to provide the interest for the sum of £97,934,437. That these taxes would press heavily on the people it was impossible to deny, but he felt assured that, unless lighter taxes could be found, that pressure would not be made an argument against those he should now submit to the committee.

The first tax he should propose was upon malt, hops, and beer: on malt 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per bushel, and on hops 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and $\frac{8}{5}$ per pound, to make it 3d. The drawback of 1s. 4d. granted to common brewers, he should propose to repeal, and should also propose 2s. a barrel on strong beer, subject to a drawback this year of six pence, in consequence of the difficulties with which the trade would have to contend. The effect of the additional duty would be this year 5s. 5d. a barrel, and the next year 5s. 11d. This duty he would venture to estimate at £2,000,000.

The next tax he had to bring forward was not a new one. It was an augmentation of the assessed taxes. The particulars would be stated hereafter. One part he would just glance upon. There were a number of journeymen tradesmen who remained in the houses of their employers, and did the duty of servants under the title of journeymen; for each of these persons he should charge ten shillings per annum. This might, he supposed, be calculated at £100,000. per annum, and with the rest of the addition to the assessed taxes would amount to £1,000,000 per annum.

The last tax he should propose was a substitute for the convoy duty; it was a tax upon exports and imports. This tax he should estimate at a million; and he had the satisfaction of knowing that it was approved of by many of those who would bear the greatest part of its weight.

The whole amount of the taxes to be imposed would, therefore, be four millions, which would be an excess above the sum wanting of near £800,000.

The right hon. gentleman then stated to the committee the outline of a plan for consolidating, into one fund, the two sinking funds which were established, the one, for the purpose of paying off the national debt, and the other for the extinction of every new loan. By their consolidation, they would acquire such an increase of power as to enable them to discharge the whole debt, of five hundred millions, in forty-five years. This plan he would propose to bring forward on Friday or Monday next.

The right hon. gentleman, after recapitulating the whole of his statements, expressing his hopes that by prudence and vigilant economy, by a firm and temperate system, by being prepared to vindicate and maintain the blessings of peace, we should ensure to ourselves tranquillity and ease, as well as security and independence, concluded by moving a resolution for raising the sum of twenty-five millions by way of loan.

He was followed by Mr. Whitbread, who, in a speech of considerable length, opposed that part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's plan which proposed a tax upon malt, hops, and beer. The brewers had, he urged, for many years been contending with great difficulties, and had not even been able to gain interest for their large capitals. The present tax would press most onerously upon them; and not only upon them, but upon the lower orders of the people. At some future period he would enter more at large into the subject. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to state, that of the war just concluded not one object had been attained; while our debt amounted to the enormous sum of five hundred millions. He was glad, however, to find that a system of moderation was to be pursued, and hoped that the predictions of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would prove more true than those of the last, who, in 1792, calculated upon fifteen years peace, instead of which we had had a nine years war.

Mr. Pitt rose to reply, and in a very long and eloquent speech defended the taxes proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his own measures during the period he was in office. He was answered by Mr. Grey.

After some observations and animadversions from Mr. Vapsittart, Mr. Alderman

Combe, Mr. Jones, and some others, the resolutions were put and agreed to.

The next day (Tuesday, April 6) Sir Robert Peel moved for leave to bring in a bill, for the better preservation of the health and morals of Apprentices, and others employed in the Cotton Mills and Cotton Manufactories. On the suggestion of Mr. Wilberforce the motion was amended by the words "Cotton and other Mills, and Cotton and other Manufactories." Leave was given to bring in the bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved the thanks of the House to be given to the Officers of the Navy, Army, and Marines, for their meritorious services during the War. It was seconded by Lord Hawkesbury, who, in a speech of some length, descanted upon the energy shown by this country during the War, and the honour acquired by it from the Peace. The volunteer corps, the Irish militia, yeomanry cavalry and other corps, were included in the motion of thanks, which was unanimously agreed to. In the committee of ways and means some conversation took place on the resolutions for imposing a tax on Beer, and also on Houses and Windows. They were, however, agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in.

On Wednesday, the House went into a Committee on the statute of Henry 8th, concerning the non-residence of the Clergy. Sir William Scott, in a very able speech, took a review of the origin and effects of that statute, and concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend and render the said Act more effectual. The motion was agreed to. After reading the Assessed Taxes bill, for the first time; and going through some other business then before it, the House adjourned.

On Thursday, April 8, the non-residence bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The parish apprentice bill was ordered to be ingrossed.—The Loan bill was read a second time, and ordered to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.—The bill for certain duties on Servants, Dogs, Houses, and Carriages was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading to-morrow.—The Window duty bill, the Ale and Beer bill, the Corn Trade bill, and some others were forwarded.—*Mr. Tierney* having asked for an elucidation respecting the new plan relative to the sinking fund, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the object of his plan was to consolidate the sinking fund and the public debts. At a

given period, perhaps 1808, when it was supposed four millions would remain in the hands of the Commissioners for liquidating the National Debt, he wished that the interest of these four millions should be continually added, and the whole be applied to liquidate the debt, instead of being diverted to the extinction of taxes. The £500,000 which was expected in 1808 to revert from the short annuities, he meant to leave at the discretion of Parliament, to be applied, if they thought proper, to the extinction of taxes. The calculation proved, that in less than forty-five years the whole National Debt will be extinguished, a fact which must be extremely gratifying to every well-wisher of this country, and which could not fail to give the world as high an opinion of our pecuniary resources as they must already entertain of our military prowess and public spirit.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, April 2.—The French minister of marine has written to the chief commissary at Bourdeaux, to desist from sending any more ordnance to St. Domingo, as the army there are sufficiently provided. He invites the merchants of Bourdeaux to form establishments at the Cape, and to resume their commercial speculations.

The majority of the Canton of Zurich, presented a very spirited remonstrance to the Senate on the 10th ult. against the new Helvetic Constitution.

The Emperor of Morocco, it is said, in an article from Cadiz, of the 4th ult. has notified to the Swedish and Dutch Consuls, that if their governments do not, within three months, make him the accustomed presents, he shall declare war against them.

Paris, March 25.

MINISTRY OF THE MARINE.

Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, to M. L'Admiral commanding the Forces of his Britannic Majesty at Jamaica.

"Dated on board L'Océan, in the Road of Cape François, 26 Pluviôse, (14 Feb.)"

"M. Admiral,—I hasten to announce to you, that a fleet of the French Republic has entered in the ports of St. Domingo. The revolted negroes have received us with fire and sword, and the city of the Cape has been reduced to ashes, but the plain and the neighbouring country have been saved by the activity of the troops, and the precipitate flight of the rebels. A powerful force will at last re-establish in this colony, the form of government prescribed by the laws of the mother country, and to protect those principles which alone can preserve, and upon which repose the common interest of all

European powers in their establishments in the colonies.

The importance and utility of these views, added to the happy establishment of peace between France and England, give me full assurance, Sir, that the rebels will no where find an asylum, and that the colony being declared in a state of siege, no armed vessel will shew itself before those ports which the rebels could occupy. The obstinate resistance which they opposed to us in different points, in spite of their continued defeats, is evidently the result of a plan of general insurrection, confirmed by the events which have occurred at Guadaloupe, and by the intelligence received from Martinique, Tobago, Grenada, and Dominica, the consequences to the European Governments would be equally disastrous, if the focus of the revolt was not speedily smothered. But the French army is already in possession of the Cape, Fort Liberty, (Fort Dauphin) the Fort de Paix, La Tortue, and Fort Republicain, (Fort-au-Prince) and is perfectly sure of all the parts formerly belonging to Spain, of which the most important points have been conquered, and every thing promises us complete success, if, as this army is enabled to expect, it can find in the event of necessity, that assistance from her neighbours, which unforeseen circumstances may force it to claim.

"The disposition of the Cabinet of St. James's and the known loyalty of your nation, Sir, permit me to hope, that the ports of Jamaica will furnish us (should circumstances demand it, and should you be abundantly provided) with provisions and ammunition. One of the ministers of his Britannic Majesty has said, that the peace just concluded, was not an ordinary peace, but a sincere reconciliation of the two greatest nations in the world; if it depends on me, Sir, this happy prognostic will certainly be verified; at least I am pleased to imagine, that our pacific communications will be worthy of two nations, to whom war has only multiplied the reciprocal reasons which they had to esteem each other; and to give you authentic proof of our confidence, I lay before you a faithful statement of our forces in the ports of St. Domingo.

"Since the 16 Pluviôse, (4th Feb.) twenty-five sail of the line have entered these ports; five of them which were Spanish have already sailed for the Havana. These twenty-five vessels, amongst which, three were entirely transports and consequently without guns, have brought, with several frigates *armées à voile*, about SIXTEEN THOUSAND MEN. I am every moment in expectation of six more sail of the line, three of them Batavians, intended to be sent to their own establishments. These divisions are also to bring five or six thousand troops more; other corps destined to follow them. I shall send almost immediately most of the flutes with six or seven vessels back to France.

"Your Excellency, I hope, will see, in this frank and loyal communication, that all the armaments of the French Government, have now no other aim, but to re-establish public security, and to consolidate the great work of a general pacification. Receive, Sir, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) "VIELLET."

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

A Letter from Madras states, that on Wednesday the 16th of September, the Right Hon. the Governor, attended by his

Excellency the Commander in Chief, the Members of Council, and the Gentlemen of the Civil, Naval, and Military Services, delivered to his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Nowlah, at Chepauk Palace, the ratified Treaty received from his Excellency the most noble the Governor-General in Council, for settling the succession to the Soubahdarry of Arcot, and for vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the Honourable Company. On the delivery of the Treaty to his Highness, royal salutes were fired from the garrison of Fort Saint George, from the shipping in the roads, and volleys of musquetry by the troops under arms.

The following Letter has appeared in all the London Daily Prints.

London, 8 Germinal (29 March) Year 10.

My Dear Countrymen,

I hasten to announce to you the signing of the Definitive Treaty, which at length ensures your speedy deliverance, and return to your own homes.

I participate in the transports of joy you must feel at this happy moment—you are going to see again your wives, your children, and your friends. You will find the great family of the French, whom you left a prey to intestine divisions, happy under the protecting band of a wise and moderate government. You will find the arts that nourish you, and the laws that protect you, flourishing.

Let not this delicious sentiment become the cause of trouble and disorder among you. Do not by your impatience, retard the moment that is to restore you to what is dear to you. Leave to government the care of making the necessary preparations to send you back to your country. The English nation, to which you have given so many proofs of constancy and resignation, will do justice to this last effort which I require from you, and which you owe to your country and your own tranquillity.

If there be still among you men, whom years of suffering and captivity have been unable to cure of the spirit of party, let them know, that there no longer exists any such spirit in France; and that their hateful passions will draw upon them, not only the contempt of their fellow citizens, but the just animadversions of a powerful and hereafter an immovable government.

Calm, if possible, those painful sensations which you have experienced for so many years, and that irritation which a long captivity inspires against those who are the apparent authors of it. Leave those sentiments in the bottom of your prisons; it is an odious recollection that ought not to accompany you to France. Your past evils were inseparable from war; the English nation, become our friend, deplores them as much as you do. Their government have made efforts to soften them, and nearly 6000 of your comrades have been sent back, without being exchanged, since the signing of the preliminaries. This is a benefit we should remember, because it was voluntary, all the rest belonged to the laws of a deplorable necessity.

For myself, deeply afflicted for these two years at your pains and your privations, I consider the happiness of drying your tears which have flowed

too long, as the first and the most delicious of the fruits of peace; and, I am about to labour, for the purpose of accelerating as much as possible, the speedy execution of the article of the Treaty that restores you to your friends.

I salute you and congratulate you with all my heart.

(Signed) OTTO.

TO MR. OTTO.

Sir,

A letter under your name, which has, within these few days, been published in all the daily prints of this metropolis, appears to call for some comment from me, whose hard lot it has been, for many years past, to answer the news-paper addresses of the envoys of Republican France.

Before I enter on an examination of the statements and insinuations contained in your letter, I would just enquire from *what motive* that letter was published. It is possible, that you really and seriously did think it necessary to calm the transports, which your "dear countrymen" must certainly feel at the prospect of living under the "wise and moderate government" of Buonaparté; but, it is absolutely impossible, that you should, for this purpose alone, have chosen the *English language* as a vehicle for your soothing exhortations. In truth, it is evident, that this letter was intended as an address to the people of England; and, as I am one of them, it is perfectly proper for me to communicate, through the same public channel, my sentiments thereon.

The language and construction of this "delicious" morsel of eloquence I pass over, not, however, without burning with shame, to think that the author of it has proved himself to be possessed of far greater talents than are to be found amongst those, to whom the interests and the honour of this country are committed. Nor will I, Sir, damp your "transports of joy" by suggesting the possibility of your "dear countrymen" meeting with some little disappointment with respect to their *wives*, their *children*, and their *friends*; with respect to "the arts that flourish" and "the laws that flourish" under the protecting hand of that wise and moderate government, of which Buonaparté is the head and Fouché is the tail: throwing all these matters aside, I come at once to the only points that are worthy of particular attention.

You say, Sir, that the English nation have had "many proofs of the constancy and resignation" of the French prisoners, now about to be released. Not one such proof, Sir, has this nation ever had. Of

perverseness, of abandonment of character, of gambling, of rapacity, of unheard-of cruelty to each other, of the most shocking beastliness and the most horrid blasphemy, your "dear countrymen" have, indeed, Sir, furnished this nation with proofs in abundance. In every part of the country where they have been lodged, they have, in some degree, corrupted the morals of the people. So was it in America. The youth of Pennsylvania were strangers to obscenity till that State had the misfortune to receive a handful of French prisoners.* Though small in number, so indefatigable were they, and so alarming was the progress of their detestable principles and manners, that it was found absolutely necessary to cut off all communication between them and the people; and, it is sincerely to be lamented, that measures equally wise and efficacious were not adopted in this country.

The other notion, which you obviously wish to inculcate, is, that the sufferings of the French prisoners are to be attributed to the English government, or, at least, that they are not to be attributed to the present government of France. Just the contrary of this is the fact. Had the feeding and clothing of your countrymen been left to his Majesty's government; had the government of France conformed itself, in this respect, to the established laws and usages of nations, the men, whose miseries you so pathetically lament, would never have known those miseries.

To renew the discussion of this subject could do no good, and you have done wrong, Sir, in provoking these cursory remarks. It is by no means my wish to engage in a controversy of any kind with a foreign minister, whose situation, come from what power he will, entitles him to forbearance, if not to respect, so long as he himself abstains from appeals, either direct or indirect, to the Public; but, whenever he makes such an appeal, he subjects himself to the animadversions of the press; and be you assured, Sir, that, as long as you continue to address us in this manner, so long will I continue to answer you.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

Wm. Cobbett.

* The only persons that have been hanged in Pennsylvania, for many years past, have been democratic Frenchmen. In spite of every possible prejudice in their favour, both the government and the people at last found it necessary to make an example of them.

STATEMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH
NAVAL FORCE TO THE FIRST OF APRIL, 1802.
Exclusive of the HIRED ARMED VESSELS which are
chiefly employed in protecting the Coasting Trade of
GREAT-BRITAIN.

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
Port and fitting	21	5	63	82	171
ward-ships	4	1	2	0	7
the English and Irish Chan- nells	16	0	22	30	68
the Downs and North Sea stations	10	1	8	39	58
the Baltic Service	0	0	0	0	0
the West-India Islands, and on the passage thither	22	1	36	43	112
American and Newfoundland stations	0	0	2	5	7
of G. Hope, E. Indies, and on the passage	8	6	14	18	46
East of Africa	0	0	0	2	2
the Lisbon Station	0	0	0	0	0
Spain and Portugal without the Straits	4	0	2	1	7
the Mediterranean	16	3	42	36	97
Hospital and Prison Ships	21	3	7	0	31
Total in Commission	132	20	198	256	606
Receiving Ships	5	0	8	1	14
Serviceable and repairing for Service	15	2	1	2	20
Ordinary	23	3	31	63	120
Building	22	1	5	0	28
Total	197	26	243	322	788

STATE OF THE ORDINARY AT
EACH PORT.

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
Portsmouth	13	1	11	27	52
Woolwich	18	0	10	14	42
Southampton	9	1	0	0	10
Sheerness	3	1	4	10	18
Other	0	2	15	15	32
Total	43	5	40	66	154

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF
THE BRITISH ARMY, APRIL
1, 1802.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, APRIL 1, 1802.	Regulars.					Inv. Co.
	Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Militia	Tot. Ba.	
England and Wales.	25	*30	74	76	135	40
North Britain.	2	—	6	10	18	6
Ireland.	7	15	27	—	49	0
Guernsey, &c.	—	4	2	—	6	20
Malta	—	7	9	—	9	1
Corfu and Malta.	—	11	—	—	11	—
Port and on the passage from it	1	15	1	—	17	1
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.	—	5	2	—	7	—
East-Indies and on passage	1	36	—	—	37	—
West of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	1	7	—	—	8	—
East-Indies, and on the pas- sage thither	4	19	—	—	23	—
Total	41	140	44	86	320	72

Including the Queen's German Regiment, + In-
cluding the Prince of Wales's own. † The Company's
exclusive. § Exclusive of artillery and engi-
neers, at home and abroad, independant companies,
militia corps, volunteers, &c.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The first week of peace has, as was ex-
pected, produced a considerable rise in the
funds, to which, however, the stagnation of
commerce, and the consequent inactivity of
capital, have largely contributed. The same
causes have materially favoured the bargain
for the loan of £24,000,000, which has been
concluded on terms full as advantageous to
the public as could have been expected. The
new taxes (except those on exports and
imports) are such as we approve of, be-
cause we have heard none more unexcep-
tionable pointed out. That they are heavy
we allow; but, who ever heard of a *light*
tax? The growling of the multitude,
about the rise in the price of *porter* and
of *grains*, will certainly be despised by
the minister; though we hope he will, at
the same time, have the justice to acknow-
ledge, that the same multitude were the
only admirers of his peace. If the *clamours*
of the people, on account of taxes, be a proof
of their sufferings, we have never yet had
the good fortune to hear of a people free
from sufferings. The people of America
are most assuredly not over burthened;
yet have they, in the short space of eight
years, twice risen in arms to resist the col-
lection of taxes, imposed by a government,
consisting entirely of persons elected by them-
selves. These insurrections were, indeed, par-
tial in their extent; but it will be readily con-
ceived, that the discontents, which gave
rise to them, were not confined to a corner
of the country. This fact is a pretty sa-
tisfactory comment on the factious whin-
ings of those, who would fain persuade us,
that all our misfortunes arise from taxation.

Peace, which has caused such a sudden
rise in the English funds, has produced a
considerable depression in those of France;
and most heartily should we rejoice were
the funds a criterion of the *spirit* of the two
countries. Woeful experience has shown us
the contrary. An elevation in the former is, in
times like these, a certain proof of debase-
ment in the latter. Were his Majesty to
exchange his present servants for men, who
entertain a high sense of national honour
and whose breasts glow with a love of na-
tional glory, such a change would instantly
produce a depression in the funds. This is
the great, and indeed, the only, evil of
national debt, and, generally speaking, of
a great accumulation of personal property
of any sort. The holders of such property
are ever upon the rack to increase its im-
mediate value; its permanent security being

a consideration that never obtrudes itself on their minds. Hence their never-ceasing clamours against war; hence the precarious situation in which their country is continually placed; hence the subserviency of statesmen to the views of money-lenders; and hence the humiliating the disgraceful terms of peace, which, in the two last instances, England has received from a bankrupt enemy.

It is with great pleasure we observe a decline in the rage for visiting France. The shameless, the disgusting, the hateful manners of Paris have shocked even the most profligate of those, who have gone thither. The Official Gazette may continue to accuse the visitors with ingratitude; but, we are much mistaken if that will encrease their number, especially while the administration of the police is in the hands of the active and inexorable Fouché. The *Moniteur* may proceed in its remarks on our public prints and our members of parliament. We shall hear its commentaries with no emotion, except it be of pity for those, who are so unfortunate as to merit its praises, and sorry we are to perceive, that his Majesty's ministers are amongst the number. While, however, the Consul has, probably, some reason to complain of those who have visited his court, he has abundant reasons to be satisfied with others who have not. His portrait is in great request amongst the candid part of our countrymen, and, we are told, that it is to be seen, in a medallion, hanging from the neck of almost every liberal lady in London.

Things, having no connection with politics, do, nevertheless, sometimes lead to political consequences, or, at least, affix some sort of character to public opinion. So has it happened with the Letter of Sir Joseph Banks to the National Institute. The contents of this Letter do, indeed, fully justify the universal indignation and disgust they have excited; yet had the Letter contained an acknowledgement of the political or military degradation of England, we are confident it would, by people in general, have passed unreprieved. But, to proclaim our inferiority in the all-softening sciences, in the "*philanthropic arts of peace*," is an offence not easily forgiven. Like parkish in the play, we quietly put up with *cheat* and *coward*, but woe be unto him who shall *disparage our parts*. The possession of colonies, the command of continents and of oceans, good faith to our allies, and even our own domestic inde-

pendence, are matters about which we are by no means mulish; but, for the superiority in squeezing of simples or dissecting of earwigs, we are ready to contend to desperation. This is our susceptible point, and it is not less wonderful than unfortunate, that Buonaparté, in all the jostling and hustling, all the cuffing and kicking, he has given us, never happened to find it out.

On the venial sins of the definitive treaty we did not intend to trouble our readers with any comment; but the short and pithy state paper, which will be found in p. 361, seems to call for a word of observation. The ministerial prints were very early in informing the public, that the definitive treaty had secured an indemnification for the losses of the House of Orange, the merit of which they ascribed solely to the British negotiators. When, indeed, we came to see the treaty itself, the important point of *who* was to be at the charge of this indemnification, was found to be entirely omitted; nevertheless, as the losses were clearly stated to have arisen from the seizure of private property and from the change in the constitution in Holland, there could be no doubt but the indemnification was to come from that country. But, behold, Mr. R. J. Schimmelpenninck now tells us, that his country is not to refund one single stiver on this account. That France will not give a sou towards it is certain. The word *pay* has long been abolished from her vocabulary. *Who*, then, is to discharge this indemnification? Have we obtained permission to do it ourselves? or are we to assist in extorting it from some defenceless bishoprick of Germany? That Empire has been taken by Buonaparté as a retreat for those he has ruined, as a sort of fallow, where cast-off princes are turned out to graze; unless, therefore, we are, some how or other, to share in the expense of the arrangement we are now speaking of, the making of us a party to it seems to have been totally superfluous.

A Dutch paper, the *Haerlem Courant*, of the 1st instant, contains certain remarks on the Definitive Treaty, which are so important in themselves, and contain such strong evidence of having been inserted in that paper by authority, that we are unwilling to lose a moment in laying a translation of them before our readers.

"When we recollect the situation, to which the Batavian Republic had been reduced by the war, we have reason to wish our countrymen most sincerely joy."

the unexpected turn of our affairs.— Who could have thought, two years ago, of a peace in general so favourable? Who would have flattered himself, that this republic would have been restored to the possession of all those numerous colonies, which had been taken from her during the war? It is true we lose Ceylon; but, Surinam, Demerara, Essequibo, &c. are restored to us; and in such a most flourishing state too, that the increase of those settlements amply compensates for the loss of Ceylon; particularly since the English have been obliged to renounce the pretension they had made of being allowed to navigate with their own ships in these colonies.—We are reinstated in the full possession of the Cape of Good Hope, not only on the ancient footing, but in a much improved state. By the 18th article of the Definitive Treaty (explained as it is by the separate convention, signed the same day between the French and Batavian Plenipotentiaries) the claims of the House of Orange are entirely set aside, and the present constitution of the Batavian Republic is solemnly acknowledged by Great-Britain, whilst this Republic is, at the same time liberated from all obligation to any indemnification whatsoever. In consequence of the care, which has been taken to avoid any renewal of the engagements, contracted in former treaties with England, our trade, particularly as far as relates to our connections with India, has been freed from those restraints, which formerly made our alliance with Great-Britain so burdensome to us.—The humiliating obligation of lowering our flag before English ships, to resist which our forefathers made such strong, but unsuccessful efforts, has entirely ceased in consequence of the present treaty. Our republic not having by any means renounced her claims to a compensation for the capture of our ships detained in the British ports, our merchants may rest assured, that the Batavian minister, who will reside in London, after the ratification, will use his utmost endeavours (agreeably to the stipulations contained in the 14th article of the treaty, respecting the taking off the sequestrations) to support the demands which will be made in consequence of that article, and to liquidate our lawful pretensions.—These considerations, of which no impartial inhabitant of this republic will contest the truth, makes us consider the peace of Amiens as an event of the utmost

importance to our republic; and we have no difficulty in saying, that the negotiator, who has had the management of our interests at the Congress, has acquired new claims to the esteem of his fellow citizens, and to the confidence of the government."

This is a consoling exposition of the Definitive Treaty, as far as relates to the stipulations, which have reference to the Batavian Republic; and, we may safely venture to predict, that the French and Spanish expositors will not be less ingenious in discovering the advantages they have obtained over us, nor less resolute in their consequent demands. When we come to see an enumeration of all the honours, privileges, and rights, which we have abandoned by this treaty, fallen as we are, we shall recoil at the contemplation of our disgrace. It may, probably, be said, that the positions here mentioned by the Dutch, are nothing more than inferences. This is, indeed, true; but they are inferences fairly deduced; and, if they were otherwise, if the argument were ever so knotty, let it be recollected, that Buonaparté wears a sword. We sometime ago observed (*Register*, page 191), that "Spain and Holland were the instruments of the ambition and malice of France; that she would stand at their back, and bid them worry us with vexatious demands; that we had despised them for their pusillanimity and weakness, but that, covered by the shield of France, we should find them bold and formidable enemies." These remarks are now about to be verified to the utmost stretch of their meaning. We shall certainly live in peace, for there is no power on earth, however contemptible, to whom we shall dare to refuse any thing. France will always be the umpire, and Buonaparté will always wear a sword. That demand of the Dutch, which it ought to give us the least pain to yield to, is precisely that which will give us the most. We allude to the claims for sequestrated, or rather confiscated, property. To refund is always disagreeable, especially after the money is spent. If we are rightly informed three millions of the Dutch property have been appropriated to the use of government. It is no matter: another halfpenny per pot on porter will be no more than a just punishment for the baseness of those, who are now willingly preparing to illuminate their houses, for the purpose of celebrating the disgrace of their country.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir Edward Law is appointed to be Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and the Hon. Spencer Percival is appointed Attorney General in his room. Mr. Romilly is to be Solicitor General, the place having been declined by Mr. Mannors Sutton on the score of ill health.

From Palermo, we learn that the preparations for the journey of the King of Naples to Spain have commenced; and from Barcelona, that the greatest preparations are making for his reception in that city.

Constantinople, Feb. 25.—The French General Vial is expected here immediately, to regulate the commercial relations between our government and the merchants of his nation.

Ruffin, as Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, has not made his customary visit to Lord Elgin, some persons are ready to attribute this delay to a political motive, but it may also be ascribed to private reasons.

On account of the extraordinary press of interesting matter, we purpose to publish a Supplement to the next Number, if time will permit.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Whitehall, April 6, 1802.

The King has been pleased to recommend the Rev. George Markham, Clerk, Master of Arts, to be chosen into the place of Dean of the Metropolitan Church of York: the same being void by the death of Dr. John Fountayne.

The King has been pleased to grant to the Rev. Joseph White, Doctor in Divinity, the Office of Hebrew Professor in the University of Oxford, with the Prebend of Christ Church annexed, the same being void by the death of Dr. Benjamin Blayney.

The King has been pleased to present the Rev. Charles Baillie, Clerk, Master of Arts, to the Rectory of Middleton in Teesdale, in the Bishopric of Durham, void by the death of the Rev. Robert Lascelles.

The King has also been pleased to present the Rev. Charles Alcock, Clerk, Bachelor of Laws, to the Archdeaconry of Chichester, void by the promotion of the Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. John Buckner, to the See of Chichester.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

Birth.—On the 2d inst. the Hon. Mrs. Cornwall, of a daughter. On Sunday, at his house in Portland Place, the Lady of Thomas Tyrwhit Jones, Esq. M.P. of a son.

Death.—On the 1st inst. the Hon. Caroline Gawler, wife of John Gawler, Esq. of Rannidge House,

Hants, and eldest daughter of John, the third Lord Bellenden. Francis Buller, eldest son of Sir Francis Buller, Bart. of Lupton House, Devon. On Saturday, at his seat at Melton Sir E. Astley, Bart. On the 18th ult. at St. Catharine Bank, near Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Kellie. On Monday morning at Bath, in the 69th year of his age, the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon. On the 22d ult. at his house, in Rutland Square, Dublin, James Earl of Caledon.

PRICE OF STOCKS.

ENGLISH three per cent. consols.
Saturday.. 73, 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ 3, $\frac{5}{8}$ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wednesday.. 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Monday.. 74 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Thursday.. 76 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday.... 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Friday.... 75 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
AMERICAN STOCKS.—Eight pr. c. 113 $\frac{1}{2}$.
FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 35 c.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat per q. 58 to 68	Hops per cwt... 89 to 150
Foreign..... 38.. 70	Hay per load.... 40.. 92
Rye..... 34.. 36	Beef, per stone.... 58.. 10
Barley..... 30.. 36	6s. 6d.
Malt..... 46.. 57	Mutton..... 6s. 10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats..... 16.. 23	Veal..... 6s. 10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pease..... 30.. 38	Pork.... 3s. 4d. to 6s. 8d.
Beans..... 28.. 40	Tallow..... 4s. 1d.
Flour per sack.. —.. 50	Average of Sugar
Seconds..... 40.. 45	per cwt. 36s. 7d.
Coals per chal... 29.. 39	

Bread Ten Pence Three Farthings the Quarter Loaf.
Porter Four Pence Halfpenny per Pot.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

HAMBURGH.. 32 4 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.	NAPLES..... 45
ALTONA 32 5 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ us.	GENOA 48 $\frac{1}{2}$
CADIZ 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ eff.	LISBON 69 $\frac{1}{2}$
MADRID 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ eff.	OPORTO 69 $\frac{1}{2}$
LEGHORN.... 52 $\frac{1}{2}$	DUBLIN..... 12

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER,

Near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of April, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds.		Barometer.		Thermometer.	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
1		Fine.	NE	NE	30,1	30	44	50
2	●	Fine.	E-S	E-S	29,63	29,6	49	56
3		Fair.	S	SE	29,58	29,58	52	60
4		Fine.	S	SSW	29,65	29,63	55	58
5		Fine.	SW	SW	29,7	29,75	54	56
6		Fine.	NE	NW	30,1	30,1	49	54
7		Fro. Fine.	NE	NW	30,2	30,12	47	54

● New Moon (1st. Quar. ○ F. Moon. ▽ Last Quar.